

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

CINCEUR

CINCPAC

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFRO, PARM, UR, US, CH

SUBJECT: PEL'SHE'S POLITBURO REPORT NOVEMBER 6 -- FOREIGN POLICY

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT. PEL'SHE'S POLITBURO REPORT ON NOVEMBER 6 EMPHASIZES THE BENEFITS OF THE PEACE PROGRAM IN A CAREFULLY BALANCED STATEMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS. THE SPEECH APPEARS TO US TO ATTEMPT TO PLAY DOWN ANTAGONISMS WITH THE CAPITALIST WORLD, THOUGH IT OF COURSE MAKES THE POINT THAT SUCH ANTAGONISMS DO EXIST. PEL'SHE ALSO TOOK THE UNUSUAL STEP GIVING MBFR PRECEDENCE IN HIS DISCUSSION OVER SALT-II, AND OMITTED THE USUAL EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SALT. PEL'SHE'S REMARKS ON "VIETNAM" REFLECT LE DUAN'S PRESENCE ON THE PODIUM AND SUGGEST THAT MOSCOW GAVE LE DUAN A REAL BEAR HUG DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO ENSURE THAT HE STAYS OUT OF PEKING'S CAMP. IN ADDITION, PEL'SHE RESTATED CPSU INTEREST IN A WORLD PARTY CONFERENCE. OTHER ITEMS IN THE SPEECH ARE OF INTEREST PRIMARILY FOR NUANCES IN EMPHASIS AND PRECEDENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE PRECEDENCE PEL'SHE ASSIGNS TO THE SUBJECTS HE DISCUSSES IN HIS REMARKS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IS OF MORE INTEREST IN MOST CASES THAN WHAT HE ACTUALLY SAYS ABOUT THOSE SUBJECTS. FOR EXAMPLE, HE BEGINS BY MAKING THE USUAL OBLIGATORY BOWS TO "SERIOUS CHANGES FOR THE BETTER" IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
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RECENT YEARS, WHICH HE TRACES TO THE "GROWING AUTHORITY" OF THE SOVIET STATE. HE THEN IMMEDIATELY MOVES TO DISCUSSION OF CSCE, WHICH HE CALLS AN EVENT OF "HISTORIC IMPORTANCE". ONLY AFTER CALLING FOR A CONSOLIDATION OF THE RESULTS OF CSCE THROUGH MILITARY DETENTE IN EUROPE DOES HE MOVE TO THE SUBJECT USUALLY GIVEN FIRST PRIORITY IN SUCH SPEECHES -- THE "SOCIALIST" COMMONWEALTH. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS SWITCH IN RANK ORDER SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED; WE NEVERTHELESS SEE IT AS AN INTERESTING INDICATION OF THE SOMEWHAT BROADENED TREMS OF REFERENCE IN WHICH MOSCOW NOW SEES EUROPE. IT ALSO OF COURSE IS TESTIMONY TO THE DEGREE TO WHICH MOSCOW CONTINUES TO SEE CSCE AS A FOREIGN POLITICAL VICTORY, EVEN IN THE FACE OF CONTINUED WESTERN BASKET III CRITICISM.

3. PEL'SHE'S DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION IN THE  
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FACE OF THIS CRITICISM, INTERESTINGLY, IS FOUND NOT IN THE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PORTION OF HIS SPEECH, BUT RATHER AT THE TAIL END OF HIS DOMESTIC REMARKS -- AMONG OTHER THINGS, AN EFFORT ON HIS PART TO SHOW THAT THE DISCUSSION OF SUCH SUBJECTS SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT. HIS DEFENSE IS A MIX OF THE USUAL CRITICISM OF "ILLUSORY AND UNREAL" (AND, IN HIS REMARKS AS READ ON TV, "MENDACIOUS", THOUGH THAT ADJECTIVE WAS OMITTED FROM PRINTED TEXTS) DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN THE CAPITALIST WORLD AND

POMPOUS DECLARATIONS ABOUT SOVIET CITIZENS HAVING FREELY TAKEN UPON THEMSELVES CERTAIN SOCIAL DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES, WHICH, HE IMPLIES, MUST NECESSARILY LIMIT THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION.

4. PEL'SHE APPEARS TO ATTEMPT TO DAMPEN SOMEWHAT THE RECENT DEBATES ON THE NEED FOR CONTINUATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BY RELEGATING HIS ONLY PARAGRAPH ON THE SUBJECT TO THE VERY END OF HIS REMARKS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. HIS STATEMENT IS NEVERTHELESS A FIRM, THOUGH NOT PROVOCATIVE, ONE, BASED ON THE USUAL ARGUMENTS ABOUT "OBJECTIVE LAWS" OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

5. HIS DISCUSSION OF THE "SOCIALIST" COMMONWEALTH IS REMARKABLE ONLY BECAUSE OF HIS ENTHUSIASTIC INCLUSION IN THIS GROUPING OF "VIETNAM", WHICH HE PRAISES AT LENGTH. HE CLAIMS THAT BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF "VIETNAM" AND THE SOVIET UNION EXISTS AN "INDESTRUCTIBLE UNITY" AND A "STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIP". IT WOULD APPEAR FROM PEL'SHE'S REMARKS THAT MOSCOW IS EITHER VERY SATISFIED WITH ITS NEGOTIATIONS WITH LE DUAN, OR THAT PEL'SHE IS ANXIOUS AT LEAST TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION TO PEKING THAT VIETNAMESE-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE NOW FIRMLY ON MOSCOW'S TRACK.

6. PEL'SHE AGAIN DISTURBS THE USUAL RANK-ORDERING OF SUBJECTS BY TREATING RELATIONS WITH THE CAPITALIST STATES BEFORE NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (ANGOLA, ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA). HE SINGLES OUT THE U.S. (CITING APOLLO-SOYUZ AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE "POSITIVE TURN" IN BILATERAL RELATIONS), FRANCE (A "POSITIVE EVALUATION" OF RESULTS OF THE GISCARD VISIT), AND, IN A SOMEWHAT SEPARATE AND LOWER CATEGORY (RELATIONS ARE DEVELOPING POSITIVELY "ON THE WHOLE"), THE FRG, THE UK, ITALY, AND JAPAN.

7. PEL'SHE'S TREATMENT OF THE "ENEMIES OF DETENTE" IS GENERALLY UNEXCEPTIONAL, THOUGH HIS CRITICISM OF "POLITICAL CIRCLES" WHO SPEAK OUT FOR THE INTERESTS OF THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX  
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WAS PROBABLY AIMED AT AMERICAN TARGETS. HIS CRITICISM OF PEKING IS BRIEF, BUT HEATED. ANTI-SOVIETISM IS THE BASIS OF ALL PEKING'S POLICY, HE CONTENTS, AND, THOUGH MOSCOW REMAINS READY TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS, IT WILL "DECISIVELY REBUFF ANY ENCROACHMENT ON (THE SOVIET UNION'S) INTERESTS OR THAT OF ITS FRIENDS" BY PEKING. (THIS WAS ONE OF THE FEW TIMES THAT THE AUDIENCE SEEMED TO RESPOND WITH GENUINE ENTHUSIASM.) THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR FOLLOWED THE NOW TIME-HONORED TRADITION OF WALKING OUT OF THE HALL AT PEL'SHE'S FIRST MENTION OF "MAOISM," JUST AS HE LEFT THE REVIEWING STAND IN RED SQUARE THE MORNING OF NOVEMBER 7 WHEN MENTION WAS MADE OF "CHINESE PROVOCATIONS."

8. PEL'SHE GIVES PRIORITY IN HIS REMARKS ON DISARMAMENT TO THE TWO NEW SOVIET UN INITIATIVES ON EXOTIC WEAPONS AND A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. HE ALSO SAYS THAT THE SOVIET UNION "WILL CONTINUE TO

WORK TOWARD FURTHER PROGRESS" IN MBFR AND SALT II. HIS LISTING OF MBFR BEFORE SALT II IS UNUSUAL, AS IS HIS OMISSION OF ANY QUALIFYING REMARKS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SALT.

9. PEL'SHE'S DEFENSE OF DETENTE EXTENDS, AS IS USUAL, TO ASCRIBING TO IT A BENEFICIAL IMPACT ON THE "SOCIAL PROGRESS" OF PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. HE DISCUSSES WITHIN THIS RUBRIC EVENTS IN PORTUGAL, CONDEMNING IN THE NAME OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE "OUTSIDE INTERVENTION" IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

10. HIS REMARKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BRIEF, AND ADD NOTHING TO THE KNOWN SOVIET POSITION. HE DISPARAGES "PARTIAL MEASURES AND HALF MEASURES" IN THE USUAL TERMS.

11. ON COMMUNIST AFFAIRS, HE SAYS THAT PREPARATIONS FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTY CONFERENCE "ARE CONTINUING". HE PRAISES THE "GREAT ROLE" PLAYED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BY THE WORLD PARTY CONFERENCE IN MOSCOW IN 1969, AND EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HAVANA CONFERENCE OF LATIN AMERICAN PARTIES IN JUNE, WHICH, THOUGH HE DOES NOT MENTION IT, ALSO SUPPORTED THE CONVOKING OF A WORLD CONFERENCE.

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## Message Attributes

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